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C R I S I S.

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The PRINCIPLES of a REAL WHIG.)

[*Continued from our last.*]



HIGGISM is not circumscribed or confined to any one or two of the religions now professed in the world, but diffuses itself among all. We have known Jews, Turks, nay, some Papists, (which I own to be a great rarity) very great lovers of the constitution and liberty. And could there be any rational grounds to expect that a majority of them could be so, I should be against using severities or distinctions upon account of religion. For a Papist is not dangerous, nor ought to be ill used by any one, because he
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prays to saints, believes purgatory, or the real presence in the Eucharist, and pays divine worship to an image or picture, which are the common topics of our writers of controversy against the Papists, but because Popery sets up a foreign jurisdiction paramount to our laws. So that a real Papist can neither be a true governor of a Protestant country, nor a true subject; and besides, is the most priest-ridden creature in the world.

I profess myself to have always been a member of the Church of England, and am for supporting it in all its honours, privileges, and revenues: but as a Christian and a Whig, I must have charity for those that differ from me in religious opinions, whether Pagans, Turks, Jews, Quakers, Socinians, Presbyterians, or others. I look upon bigotry to have always been the very bane of human society, and the offspring of interest and ignorance, which has occasioned most of the great mischiefs that have afflicted mankind.

We ought no more to expect to be all of one opinion, as to the worship of the Deity, than to be all of one colour or stature. To stretch or narrow any man's conscience to the standard of our own, is no less a piece of cruelty, than that of Procrustes the tyrant of Attica, who used to fit his guests to the length of his own iron bedstead, either by cutting them shorter, or racking them longer.

What just reason can I have to be angry with, to endeavour to curb the natural liberty, or to retrench the civil advantages of an honest man (who follows the golden rule of doing to others as he would have others do to him, and is willing and able to serve the public) only because he thinks his way to Heaven surer or shorter than mine? No one can tell which of us is mistaken till the day of judgment, or whether any of us be so, for there may be different ways to the same end, is not certain, and I am not for circumscribing the mercy of the Almighty: This I am sure of, one shall meet with the same positive opinions in some of the priests of all all those sects; the same want of charity, engrossing Heaven by way of monopoly to their own corporation, and managing it by a joint stock, exclusive of all others; the same pretences to miracles, mar-

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tyrs, inspirations, merits, mortifications, revelations, austerity, antiquity, &c.

I think it to the honour of the reformed part of the Christian profession, and the church of England in particular, that it pretends to fewer of these unusual and extraordinary things, than any other religion we know of in the world; being convinced, that these are not the distinguishing marks of the truth of any religion; and it would not be amiss, if we further enlarged our charity, when we can do it with safety, or advantage to the state.

Let us but consider how unjust and impolitic it is to condemn all people, but such as think of the Divinity just as we do. May not the tables of persecution be turned upon us? A Mahometan, in Turkey, is in the right; and I, if I carry my own religion thither, am in the wrong: They will have it so. If the Mahometan comes with me to Christendom, I am in the right, and he in the wrong; and hate each other heartily for differing in speculations, which ought to have no influence on moral honesty.

But, as on the one hand, a true Whig thinks that all opinions purely spiritual and notional ought to be indulged; so on the other, he is for severely punishing all immorities, breach of laws, violence and injustice. A minister's tythes are as much his right, as any layman's estate can be his; and no pretence of religion or conscience can warrant the subtracting of them, whilst the law is in being which makes them payable: For a Whig is far from opinion that they are due by any other title.

It would make a man's ears tingle to hear the divine right insisted upon for any human institutions; and to find the Almighty brought in as a principal, when there is not the least occasion for it, to support those absurd institutions.

To affirm that monarchy, episcopacy, synods, tythes, the hereditary succession to the crown, &c. are *jure divino*; is to cram them
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down a man's throat, and tell him in plain terms, that he must submit to any of them under all inconveniencies, whether the laws of his country are for it or against it

Every Whig own submission to government to be an ordinance of God. "Submit yourselves to every ordinance of man, for the Lord's sake," says the Apostle. Where, by the way, he calls them ordinances of man; and gives you the true notion how far any thing can be said to be *jure divino*; which is far short of what your high-flown assertors of the *jus divinum* would carry it, and proves as strongly for a republican government as a monarchial; though in truth it affects neither, where the very ends of government are destroyed.

A real Whig looks upon frequent parliaments as such a fundamental part of the constitution, that even no parliament can part with this right. High Whiggism is for annual parliaments, and low Whiggism for triennial, with annual meetings. I leave it to every man's judgment, which of these would be the truest representative; would soonest ease the house of the numerous swarm of placemen and pensioners, the very fountain from whence all our national evils flow; or which of the two is most agreeable to ancient custom.

But I think it seems inconsistent with the reason of the thing, and preposterous, for the first parliament after a prince's accession to the crown, to give the public revenue arising by taxes, for a time longer than that parliament's duration. I cannot see why the members of the first parliament should engross to themselves all the power of giving, as well as all the merit and rewards due to such a gift: and why succeeding parliaments should not, in their turn, have it in their power to oblige the prince, or to strengthen him, if they saw occasion; and to withdraw such support, if they were convinced he made an ill use of such a revenue. I am sure we have had instances of this kind; and a wise body of senators ought always to provide against the worst that can happen.

An old Whig is for chusing such sort of representatives to serve in parliament as have estates in the kingdom; and those not fleeting
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ones, which may be sent beyond sea by bills of exchange by every packet-boat, but fixed and permanent. To which end every merchant, banker, or other monied man, who is ambitious of serving his country as a senator, should have also a competent, visible land estate, as a pledge to his electors that he intends to abide by them, and has the same interest with theirs in the public taxes, gains and losses.

I have heard and weighed the arguments of those who, in opposition to this, urged the unfitness of such, whose lands were engaged in debts and mortgages, to serve in parliament, in comparison with the monied man who had no land: but these arguments never convinced me.

A Whig is against the raising or keeping up a standing army in time of peace: but with this distinction, that if at any time an army (though even in time of peace) should be necessary to the support of the state, a Whig is not for being too hasty to destroy that which is to be the defender of his liberty.

I desire to be well understood. Suppose then, that persons, whose known principle and practice it has been, during the attempts for arbitrary government, to plead for and promote such an army in time of peace, as would be subservient to the will of a tyrant, and contribute towards the enslaving the nation, should, under a legal government, cry down a standing army in time of peace, during the time of a national ferment; I should shrewdly suspect, that the principles of such persons were not changed, but that either they do not like the hands that the army is in, or the cause that it espouses; and look upon it as an obstruction to another sort of army, which they should like even in time of peace.

The arming and training of all the freeholders of England, as it is our undoubted ancient constitution, and consequently our right, so it is the opinion of most Whigs, that it ought to be put in practice. This would put us out of all fear of foreign invasions, or disappoint any such when attempted. This would soon take away the necessity of maintaining standing armies of mercenaries in time of peace.

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This would render us a hundred times more formidable to our neighbours than we are; and secure effectually our liberties against any king that should have a mind to invade them at home; which, perhaps was the reason some of our late kings were so averse to it.

As the case now stands, ten thousand disciplined soldiers, once landed, might march without considerable opposition from one end of England to the other. Were our militia well regulated, we need not fear an hundred thousand enemies, were it possible to land so many among us. At every river and pass, the enemy would meet with men resolutely determined to conquer or die in support of their country, liberty and laws.

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[To be concluded in our next.]

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